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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	PFIP-01	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	IO-19	L-03	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01	SP-01	SSO-00	SS-01	TRSE-00
	T-01	USIE-00	/059W				

-----5F3581 091520Z /38

O 091517Z SEP 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1727
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 03739

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, AORC, OAU, RW
SUBJECT: ARUSHA III

REFS: A) DAR ES SALAAM 5203 B) DAR ES SALAAM 5167
- C) KIGALI 3723 D) STATE 284576

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DIRECTOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET ENOCH
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RUHIGIRA CAME BY TO SEE ME THIS AFTERNOON WITH COPIES
OF BOTH THE RPF DRAFT PROTOCOL AND THE RWANDAN DRAFT
PROTOCOL FOR THE ARUSHA TALKS.

GOR DISAPPOINTED

3. RUHIGIRA SAID THAT SO FAR AS HE COULD TELL THERE
IS IN THE RPF DRAFT PROTOCOL NO BASIS FOR AN ACCORD.
HE SAID THE RPF PROTOCOL WOULD AMOUNT TO A COUP
D'ETAT. IT IS WHAT THE RPF WOULD HAVE IMPOSED HAD
THEY WON A MILITARY VICTORY IN OCTOBER OF 1990.

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ENOCH SAID THE LOGIC OF THE TWO PAPERS IS COMPLETELY DIFFERENT AND HE DID NOT SEE HOW THEY COULD BE PUT TOGETHER.

4. RUHIGIRA SAID THAT THE RPF PROTOCOL TOTALLY REJECTS EVERYTHING THAT HAS HAPPENED POLITICALLY IN THIS COUNTRY IN THE LAST TWO YEARS AND IS IN ESSENCE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC. RHETORICALLY HE ASKED: "IS THE RPF INTERESTED IN DEMOCRACY?" THIS HE SAYS IS THE KEY QUESTION WHICH HE HAS BEEN ASKING SINCE THE FIRST ARUSHA ROUND, AND WHICH HE APPARENTLY ANSWERS IN THE NEGATIVE.

5. ENOCH SAID THE RPF PROPOSED COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION SEEMS TO BE MODELED EITHER ON THE UGANDAN NRM, OR, AS RAWSON TOLD HIM, ON KANYARWENGWE'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE "COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND NATIONAL UNITY" WHICH CONTROLLED THE 1973-75 TRANSITION IN RWANDA. ENOCH JOKED THAT THAT WAS A FINE FORMULA FOR DICTATROSHIP, AND A NICE
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COLLEGIAL ATMOSPHERE FOR ITS MEMBERS, SUCH AS KANYARWENGWE, BUT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH DEMOCRACY WHICH THE RPF CLAIMS TO WANT TO CREATE.

CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS

6. I TOLD ENOCH THAT I HAD JUST HEARD VIA A PHONE CALL FROM CAROL FULLER IN WASHINGTON THAT DAVID RAWSON WAS ALSO DISAPPOINTED IN THE OPENING POSITION OF THE RPF, BUT THAT HE BELIEVES THE DIFFERENCES ARE NEGOTIABLE. I ALSO URGED THE CHEF DU CABINET NOT TO REJECT THE RPF PAPER OUT OF HAND, BUT TO CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE AND SEEK TO FIND SOME COMMON GROUND. RUHIGIRA ASSURED ME THAT THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO TALK, THAT THEY WOULD NOT PRECIPITOUSLY BREAK OFF THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT HE HAD NO IDEAS OF HOW TO BUILD FROM TWO DIFFERENT BASES. I SUGGESTED THEY COULD CLEARLY ACCEPT THE IDEA OF A COUNCIL ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, EVEN IF THEY COULD NOT AGREE TO THE POWERS PROPOSED BY THE RPF. I ALSO SUGGESTED THEY CONTINUE TO BUILD ON THE VARIOUS IDEAS FOR JOINT COMMISSIONS WHICH HAD BEEN USED IN MANY PLACES TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER ON SPECIFIC ISSUES. I ALSO SUGGESTED THEY MIGHT LOOK AGAIN AT THE JOINT

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POLITICAL MILITARY COMMISSION WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN ESTABLISHED AND GIVE IT SOME ADDITIONAL ROLE IN THE PROCESS.

THE RWANDAN PROPOSAL

7. DURING RAWSON'S VISIT HERE HE SAW THE PRIME
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MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER (MDR), THE DEFENSE
MINISTER (MRND), THE LEADERS OF THE MDR AND PL, THE
FRENCH AMBASSADOR, MEMBERS OF THE WORKING GROUP
PLANNING NEGOTIATIONS, AND RUHIGIRA.

8. BOTH THE OUTLINES AND THE CONTENT OF THE GOR
DRAFT PROTOCOL BECAME CLEAR IN THESE DISCUSSIONS,
BOTH WITH THE MRND AND THE MDR MEMBERS OF THE
GOVERNMENT.

9. OF PARTICULAR NOTE IS THE PROPOSITION IN PARAGRAH
2 OF ARTICLE 5 IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT INVITES THE
RPF WITH OTHER PARTIES TO KIGALI TO DISCUSS THE

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DISTRIBUTION OF MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS BEGINNING
SEPTEMBER 30. IT HAD BEEN THE DISTANT HOPE OF
LEADERS HERE THAT SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE
SHARING OF THE POWER COULD BE WORKED OUT IN ARUSHA
AND THAT THE ACTUAL DECISIONS COULD BE WORKED OUT
AMONG THE VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES INCLUDING THE RPF
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IN ANOTHER SESSION INSIDE RWANDA.

10. ALSO A PART OF THE RAWSON CONVERSATIONS WERE THE
IDEAS IN ARTICLE 8 FOR DEVELOPING A NUMBER OF JOINT
COMMISSIONS TO DEAL WITH INDIVIDUAL ISSUES. ALTHOUGH
WE URGED GOR LEADERS TO CONSIDER AGAIN THE ROLE OF
THE JOINT POLITICAL MILITARY COMMISSION WHICH THEY
HAVE ALREADY ESTABLISHED, THEY SEEM TO SEE IT IN THE
CONTEXT OF OTHER JOINT COMMISSIONS RATHER THAN AS AN
UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION.

11. FINALLY, AS RAWSON DESCRIBED THE KANYARWENGWE
PROPOSAL FOR EARLY ELECTIONS AT THE LOCAL AND
COMMUNAL LEVEL, THIS SEEMED TO FIT VERY WELL WITH THE
GOR'S CONCEPT OF LOCAL AND COMMUNAL ELECTIONS WELL
AHEAD OF PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

THE FRENCH ROLE



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13. THE FRENCH REMAIN VERY JITTERY ABOUT THIS
PROCESS AND NOT VERY OPTIMISTIC. MIQ
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FOR PEACE WITH WHATEVER VIGOUR THEY CAN MUSTER.

COMMENT

14. WE VERY MUCH APPRECIATE DAR ES SALAAM 5203 AND
THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE OBSERVERS TO TRY TO BASE
THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE WHICH
EXISTS AND TO KEEP THE PARTIES TALKING. ALSO
APPRECIATE YOUR PROMPT REPORTING; WE WOULD WELCOME
ANY IDEAS YOU HAVE FOR KEEPING THE PROCESS GOING IN
KIGALI, RECOGNIZING THAT IT MAY BE A LITTLE BIT MORE
DIFFICULT WITH THE PRIME MINISTER NOW TRAVELING IN
EUROPE. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS THE PRESIDENCY THAT IS
MORE LIKELY TO BOLT, AND WE WILL STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH
WITH IT.
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